

Polit. Pamph. vol. 124.
THE
Political Touch-Stone :

OR, A
New Whet for Patriotism.

Humbly inscribed to

The Right Hon. WILLIAM PITT, Esq;

*O England! Model to thy inward Greatness,
Like little Body with a mighty Heart;
What might'st thou not, that Honour would thee do,
Were all thy Children kind and natural.*

SHAKESPEAR.

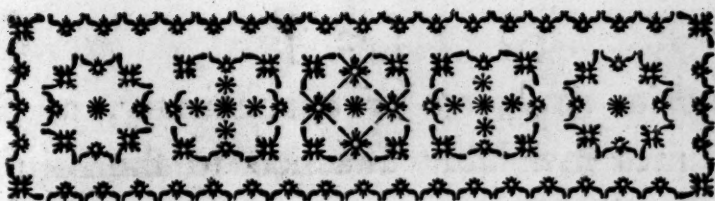


L O N D O N :

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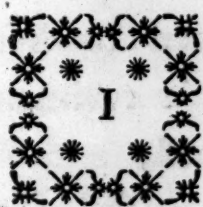




T O

Mr. P I T T.

S I R,



I T is the misfortune of those in your high station to be exposed to multiplied addresses of fulsome panegyrist; and the impertinent advice of over-weening friends: or distant views of self-interest. Another inconvenience, which is to the full as troublesome, are the indefatigable pains taken to strain every laudable action of yours to a bad sense, and misrepresent the best laid plans, as the offspring of an unexperienced head, entirely *utopian* and chimerical.

In whatever of these classes we shall be ranged by the impartial public, we know not. But this we know, that we

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write as lovers of our country, at all times inviolably attached to the British constitution; to men and names but occasionally: and that when they cooperate to support her.

The two principal heads we have to treat with you upon, are; 1. Why hitherto England's constitution has been so much neglected, and her vigour impaired. 2. That she can be restored to her genuine health but by such a regimen as you have lately prescribed; and of which the effects are in general felt throughout these kingdoms with the warmest sense of gratitude.

To state matters in the clearest light we can, and deduce effects from their real, not feigned causes; in order to shew why hitherto Britain's constitution has been neglected and her vigour impaired, we must review matters so far back as from the accession of the present illustrious house of Hanover to the throne of Great Britain.

That most accomplished prince, George
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the first, our late gracious sovereign, being of a philosophical turn of mind, knew how much ease was to be preferred to the most splendid of earthly possessions, and dignities, when exposed to frequent checks, controul, and tumultuous opposition.

From our history he had learned, that we were a nation not of the most meek and quiet dispositions; that a trifle can elate or deject us: and that from our being so prompt to give into a spirit of party, we would as soon quarrel for a feather as a golden mine. In fine, that as in the element surrounding us, our storms were for the most part productive of danger, and our calms of very uncertain duration.

He knew also, that rather than be in the least compelled to be happy, on such occasions, and upon very little encouragement by disaffected leaders, we readily incline to insurrections.

The English throne appeared to him still reeking with the blood of his royal cousin Charles the first; and since compulsorily vacated by that unhappy mo-

narch's mislled younger son, who died in exile ; where he had languished out the remainder of his life, a precarious dependent on the bounty of France.

The reflections that naturally arose in the Hanoverian prince from those uninviting æras of our history, were the cause of his so long hesitating to accept of the British throne ; and were since the rules of his conduct while he sat thereon. For looking on himself as placed over a people on whom he could have not the most strenuous reliance, from a retrospect of the treatment which the rightful princes born and bred amongst them had received ; he was cautious in the extreme about every act of his : lest by any he might draw on his hereditary dominions, where his heart was naturally centered (for as we have from sacred authority *ubi thesaurisantur, ibi est cor eorum*) the resentment of any power, or powers, that could not affect him as king of these realms.

Always prepared for whatever vicissitudes might happen, he took care (as prudence

dence directed) for the worst events that might befall. This turn of mind his ministry rather abetted than opposed ; as it secured to them a greater share of authority. His constant request to them was, " Gentlemen, take care, do not mislead me ; do not make me do any thing contrary to the laws of England : if you do, the fault be solely yours."

They upon most occasions augmented his fears, representing all opponents to their measures as persons disaffected to his sacred person ; branding them at the same time with the odious term of *jacobites*; which, they knew, was the sure way of preventing the so stigmatized from having any interview with, in order to remonstrate to, their sovereign against proceedings detrimental to their country, and dishonourable to his glory.

This diffidence bred in his royal bosom against many excellent subjects, thro' the misrepresentation of iniquitous men, lest their own bad conduct should be called to a strict account, made that monarch,
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in some foreign transactions lean perhaps to those dominions, where his right could not be disputed; and sometimes perhaps not a little to the prejudice of those he had been called to rule over. Such wrong steps are to be imputed entirely to those false servants, thro' whom the nation's features at that time were reflected to the king in a very unfavourable light. That prince is said to have never been drove by Whitehall but he felt a kind of shudder, and changed countenance as he looked towards the place where the royal martyr his cousin had been executed.

What were the consequences of this ministerial misinformation to the throne? most ruinous! under which we have laboured to this day, or at least till very lately. Immoderate sums of money were granted on one side, for undue concessions of power on the other.

Thus while the head looked one way, and the mercenary servants another, the main business of the political family was neglected. No motive of glorious emulation

lation being set up before their eyes, each member solely attended to the gratifying of his passions; and that they might be enabled so to do, was the chief care of the artificers of national degeneracy.

Upon the lamentable discovery, how disadvantageous a spirit of patriotism, true honour, and integrity, were to the foolish harbourers of them, the bulk of the people (seeing no other way to serve themselves or families) went to market with their consciences.

Nay with so rapid a progress did corruption and venality spread thro' the land, that a leviathan minister had the parricide effrontery to declare more than once, that he knew the price of every man in England.

But however bad the times were in which his wicked sway prevailed, some honest bosoms, unaffailable by bribery, were found, whom the tools of the court insolently called, the unaccountables, the odd fellows.

An anecdote of one of those eminent parliamentary dissenters ought to be for ever recorded ; and which tho' known to the generality of people now living, ought to be handed down to posterity with care.

A gentleman of small fortune, and member of the house of commons, having rendered himself dear to his country, and odious to the court, by opposing all sinister measures of the ministry; their Pseudo-Machiavel thought it absolutely necessary to gain him over to their side at any rate. For which purpose an intimate of the said gentleman's was applied to, in order to sound him, and make any offers in point of lucrative places, in case he would quit his unfashionable way of thinking ; to observe to him at the same time of how little avail his opposition was, for there being a great majority on the ministerial side, they were sure to carry every question they wanted ; that therefore all the good that could accrue to his family, was by the perverseness

ness of his conduct to appear in a very singular but unprofitable light to himself and them.

The employed go-between the minister and the honest member having opened his commission with great warmth and hopes of succeeding; the latter made no immediate reply, but bid the state agent dine with him the next day at his house.

In the interval away hies the invited to the minister to let him know what had passed; that the advantages he insinuated to his friend were so far from being rejected with any heat or acrimony, that he was invited to dine with him the next day. They consequently concluded upon his having swallowed the bait, otherwise he would not have given said invitation.

“ True my friend, added the minister in the highest glee, therefore be sure you do not fail to wait on and dine with him. You have *carte blanche* to bid him chuse what place he pleases for
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himself, and point out in what way he would have his friends served."

About the hour of dinner arrives the state-emissary, equally rejoiced by the hopes of making his friend a proselyte to the court, and of procuring him in return some very advantageous post.

The true Briton called to his footman, and bid him serve in dinner ; who observing a guest was to dine with his master, made humble signs as if he had somewhat to communicate to him aside, which was, that he had nothing to serve up but the cold remains of a piece of mutton on which he had dined the day before.

" Well, officious fool, quoth the master, I know that very well, and mean that nothing else shall be served. The gentleman you see with me is an intimate friend, with whom I make no manner of ceremony."

The cold fragment of mutton being laid on the table, to it sat the inviter and invited, the latter following all the movements

movements of the former, to see how this strange repast should end. There was a tankard of porter, and a pint of port wine placed on a dumb waiter by way of regale for their drink.

Dinner over, the gentleman, who was to have been seduced, said to his friend. "Now Sir, I will give an answer to your proposal of yesterday; which I did not chuse to do sooner, lest I should mar your appetite. Be pleased to inform the great man by whom you are employed to draw me over to his party, that while I can afford to dine upon a bit of cold mutton and drink a pint of port after it, I shall not desert my country's interest."

The other, thunderstruck with so unexpected an answer, returned with dejection to his master, telling him all their labour had been in vain. It may very justly be observed here by our readers, what could be the minister's pressing motive to gain over one man to his party, he having already a considerable majority

of the corrupt and venal senate damned to his interest.

It was not from being under any necessity to effectuate his anticonstitutional measures in the least, that he wanted the vote of said solicited gentleman ; but it was in order to turn patriotism into ridicule, could he have got him over to his side ; and moreover to give a varnish to his cause, by prevailing on a man of such acknowledged probity to lift under his banner.

Thus when a company of sharpers have any scheme to set on foot, in order to take in the credulous publick, their first care, if they can, is to get some man of reputation and character ; who by entering into partnership with them, may give a gloss to the plan, and add consequence to the society.

This pleasing reflection arises from the above anecdote ; to wit, what a check one honest man can be to the overgrown monsters of power, with their mercenary tribes, however numerous, at their heels.

What

What a happy prospect must England promise to herself, nay the revival of her long-faded glory, when, like the abovementioned patriot, a private gentleman, equally remarkable for his disinterestedness and frugality of table, shall by no other power than that of his probity, love of his country, and uncommon abilities, have the helm of the state entrusted to his hand !

By such a pilot how triumphantly is the great vessel of Liberty steered, while attendant Victory from the topmast-head points the streamers to every harbour where she is to hurl destruction, and roar the resentment of a too long abused and injured people against the wanton aggressors; encouraged thereto by the imbecillity or villainy of those who had formerly stood at the helm.

Under so true and national guidance acts of hostility will be carried on in earnest. No smuggling war will be made. The scared enemy will feel a running fire all along the maritime skirts of his dominions,

dominions; and when one place is ruined, shall be uncertain whither to send troops in order to oppose the next descent.

This is the effectual way to destroy the navy of France; in her own harbours: and not to let them out that we may after chase them on the main sea. In order to excite a dislike in the people against such vigorous measures, the masked enemies of England, and warm friends to our enemies, insinuate every where, "Is it not to be feared that other powers will take umbrage at such violent invasions; and apprehending that we are going to assume the sovereignty of the seas, will unite against us?"

Can Spain, particularly bound by treaties, and united by blood to France, be a tame and unaffected spectatress of all that is done in a neighbouring country? Will she not have reason to dread a like treatment from us, on the very first pretext that we may form of picking a quarrel with her?

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To wave entering into a prolix discussion on this topic, let us suppose the worst; a war with Spain—The consequence of which must turn out to our advantage, and to her very great detriment. That the old received notion in England, war with France but peace with Spain, holds no longer good, can be very easily explained.

Before the throne of that monarchy had been filled by a prince of the house of Bourbon, the maxim was then good. Because the political views of Versailles and the Escorial were quite different; nay more frequently in hostile opposition than otherwise. But since, unhappily for us, that kingdom has been Bourbonized, her councils are influenced by the politics of France, and the chief trade of all her ports is transacted by merchants of that nation. Nay, to speak the genuine truth, the Spaniards gradually divest themselves of their country's ancient customs, manners, dress, and become every day more and more frenchified.

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We can prove from facts, that when in open war with either of these nations, the other acts the part of an indirect and clandestine enemy to us, the more formidable, as being screened from our resentment.

In the late war between England and Spain, the privateers of the latter were not only suffered to cruise off the rivers mouths of France ; but to sail up, to anchor in them, and to cut off their moorings all English trading vessels : while no ships of force belonging to us were allowed to molest them.

What greatly aggravated such partial conduct of the French was, that the crews of most of those privateers they so indulged were their own countrymen ; themselves the proprietors : having obtained powers from the court of Spain to hoist the flag, and in their own river commit depredations on the trading part of the British subjects who were bringing wealth and happiness to them.

It is notorious that at a certain period of the aforesaid war, above twenty merchant vessels

vessels were drawn up close to the city of Bourdeaux, because a privateer under Spanish colours, the whole crew French, infested the river up as far as the citadel of Blaie, in order to immediately board, and make prizes of all our vessels that should attempt to fall down the river.

Nay two or three were audaciously cut from their moorings, though under the protection of said citadel; from which not a gun was fired to prevent the violation: perhaps the governor was part owner of the said privateer.

There happened to be at that very time a New-England sloop bored for ten guns, lying with others terror-bound at Bourdeaux. The captain being a spirited fellow, and quite provoked at the usual delay of our then ministerial agents sending convoys, proposed to all the captains of English, Scotch, and Irish vessels there, to collect (and that he would give as much as any one) a sum sufficient to purchase guns, ammunition, &c. and then to chuse the stoutest fellows of each vessel to put on board him, that he would answer for tak-

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ing the said privateer, and convoying them all far from the reach of danger.

This proposal was so cheerfully received by all the masters of the vessels, that they gave with alacrity the sum required. Our merchants residing there (their letters to England for a convoy not producing the desired effect) not only approved the proposal, but contributed very handsomely to enable the execution of it.

The select of each vessel for going on board the New-England sloop were named, and each jolly tar seemed proud of being chosen. But the French dark agents at Bourdeaux, seeing the certain danger the privateer was in, should the said plan of the English be carried into execution, applied to the governor of the city, who, to the astonishment of all impartial people, issued an order, forbidding any person, under severe penalties, to furnish the English masters of vessels with powder, ball, &c. that it would be violating the neutrality that was to be observed; threatening at the same time to confine them, should he hear of their purchasing any.

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Our poor tars, disappointed of their sport, got some of our leading merchants there to represent to the governor, that when he would not permit British subjects to purchase ammunition, &c. for their defence, lest the neutrality should be violated, they humbly apprehended, that it was manifestly so, by suffering the said privateer to infest the river; and that they therefore hoped, nay prayed, he would send an armed vessel down in his master's name, to order or drive the said privateer out of the river.

To this very modest request, from a people by whom Bourdeaux benefited so much every year, the governor's evasive answer was; that truly he had no orders from his court for any such proceeding: that he could by no means accede thereto, it being as much as his place was worth.

Most people put a proper construction on the said strange conduct of the governor; who so far from being reprimanded for it by his court, was no doubt by his

private instructions encouraged to favour the Spaniards on all occasions against the English.

The poor men were obliged to languish away and spend their money unprofitably for a long series of time, receiving frequently the disagreeable news of some vessel belonging to their fellow-subjects being taken, chased, or run ashore, in, or just off the river's mouth by Moreau; that was the captain of the privateer's name, a native of Bourdeaux.

Nay we the writers of this letter happened to be at that very time passengers on board a vessel bound to Bourdeaux, but were informed of the privateer's coming down just as we entered the river, whereupon we got into a French fishing boat, and made for the next shore.

On our landing we walked to a few huts, and there got some bread and wine to refresh us; during which scanty repast we heard the people of the house (not imagining from our English dress that we understood French) lamenting to each other
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our having escaped the privateer; in which we learned all their relations were. We thought that no place to abide long in, paid for what we had, and bore away for the next town where we might rest in safety. We set out the next morning for Bourdeaux, where we found the English, &c. in great clamours about the governor's partial conduct, and informed them of what had happened to us, which confirmed their surmises.

This instance we think sufficiently glaring of French partiality towards the Spaniards, when we are at war with the latter. What we are going to quote, will not prove less so of Spanish partiality towards the French, when we are engaged in hostilities with them.

The affair we are going to speak of, is that of the Antigallican's prize, le duc de Penthièvre, a rich East Indiaman, taken by uncommon bravery, and effusion of blood, at the loss of several courageous subjects lives.

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The French officers on board the said ship never once denied her being a lawful prize, but thanked our gallant countrymen for their courteous behaviour to them as prisoners. Yet these very men had been but a few days on shore at Cadiz, when the iniquitous governor of the city, being entirely devoted to the interest of France, had them not only tutored, but encouraged, to go back from their first voluntary declaration of the legality of the said prize; and to assert that their having said so proceeded from a sense of fear while in the power of the English.

The wicked governor, not satisfied to make those unhappy as well as ungrateful men apostatise from their first candid declaration, hired some low-lived Spanish wretches to swear they were on the beach spectators of the engagement, which was (according to them) within gun-shot of the fort. To support which allegation they produced several balls found on the shore, which they gave their affidavits had been shot from the Antigallican, though they had

had been there purposely scattered by said varlets employed by the governor, having previously learned the bore of the English privateer's guns.

In an unprecedented and peremptory manner was the said legal prize, le duc dePenthievre, declared unlawful; and, upon the brave Foster's refusing to give up what was undoubtedly his by every right of war, outrages were committed that I am sorry to say reflect dishonour on the flag and majesty of the people of England.

The former was audaciously turned to scorn, and the lives of some of the latter wantonly sported with by way of shooting at a mark to win a prize. The particulars relative to the said shameful affair have been so often repeated in our news-papers, as to render it unnecessary for us to enter there-upon here; wherefore we shall confine ourselves to a few obvious reflections.

The Roman people, of whom we pride ourselves so much to be the copiers, had such a high sense of their own dignity,
that

that they looked upon the punishment of a fellow-citizen in a most extraordinary light.

What a heinous crime does Cicero charge Verres with for having a Roman citizen whipt in Sicily, which he looked upon as an indignity to the state; wherefore he paints in the strongest colours, “ Was it proper for a man who could say, *civis Romanus sum*, I am a citizen of Rome, *cædi virgis* to be ignominiously scourged ?”

What an aggravation does this great Roman orator make of a Roman’s punishment, that, during the rigorous severity he had undergone, he beheld Italy the land of liberty which allowed no such slavish treatment to be inflicted on any of her free-born sons.

It must be obvious to every reader to conclude, in what a pathetic manner such a genius as Tully’s would paint the unmerited murder of free-born English sailors, wantonly slaughtered in the harbour of Cadiz, under the British flag, the palladium of liberty, by dastardly Spaniards, in
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contempt of the laws of nations, &c. in mere compliment to their dearly beloved French.

As in the two above cited examples we have to a demonstration proved the mutual affection of French and Spaniards to each other, so we have shewed their bare-faced partiality in consequence against us whenever we are at war with either.

One article of this shameful bias is universally known, to wit, that which ever of the two kingdoms happens to be the neutral one, hinders not her subjects to go on board the privateers and king's ships of the other engaged in war.

For example; if we be at war with France, Spain remaining neutral, all the privateers fitted out from Bayonne and the several French ports in the bay of Biscay have commonly as many Spaniards on board as French. Nay some privateers have been found entirely manned with the former, and those chiefly from St. Sebastian's and other harbours along that coast, which are said to be the nursery of the best seamen in Spain.

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If on the contrary we should be engaged in a war with Spain, France remaining neuter, the seamen of all the French ports in the bay of Biscay, acknowledged to be the best the king of France has, go on board the privateers of St. Sebastian, &c. Whole crews of French, captain and all, fought against us in the last war with Spain under Spanish commissions. The privateers were fitted out by French merchants. The same practice had been followed by Spanish merchants when we were in war with France.

From these premises it cannot be looked upon as a strained power to assert that since the accession of the house of Bourbon to the throne of Spain, when we are nominally at war but with one, we are actually so with both, having to encounter the seamen of the two nations fighting but under the flag of one. Therefore instead of the old maxim, "peace with Spain and war with France," let us adopt henceforward, since both kingdoms are ruled by the same family, "always war with both at the same time."

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This advantage will accrue from such a conduct, that having very little additional strength to cope with in point of seamen, the ships of the two nations will be thinner manned than if one only was concerned. Our privateer-men, &c. will therefore have a multiplied chance of taking prizes to enrich themselves, their owners, and their country.

We are aware that this is a doctrine some people will wince at; notwithstanding which we are confident that whenever it shall be vigorously pursued, England's glory and wealth will rise to that climax they ought; her name be revered; and her anger dreaded among the nations.

We cannot though with some regret but own, that her name had for some years past ignominiously dwindled in the esteem of other powers, and her floating fortresses from their inefficacy have been turned to derision. On the change of Amsterdam every Briton has been long treated with contempt, and, since the capture of their smuggling ships, with atrocious insolence.

We hear some objectors to our above document cry out here with an air of triumph, " Well gentlemen speculatists, who from your closets want to cut out more work for our navy, by making us jointly war with France and Spain; do you think the Dutch, who fancy themselves to be so highly injured by us, will not figure in, on so favourable an occasion, in order to have reprizals on us for our late multiplied captures on them. The Dutch have money, the Dutch have seamen, and can soon have ships. Moreover it is to be apprehended that they have not the most cordial affection for us."

We are not ignorant that the Dutch have money; that they abound in seamen we likewise know: but that they can soon fit out any considerable number of ships of war is not so clear to us. As to their not having a very cordial affection for the British dominion, is we believe not a matter of doubt in the opinion of any person acquainted with their present corrupt system of politicks.

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In return for their ingratitude to England, to whose generosity they owed their first existence, all we and every good English subject need say on the occasion is, *un-dam them*; and *delenda est Carthago* be the motto of our fleet: which would soon be found far from an impossibility, when their ungrateful Mynheer-ships shall provoke us to pursue such violent measures.

But our objectors still continue, "hold gentlemen, since you appear in so drawcan-firly a humour, grant us engaged with the above three powers, and that the war should go on favourably for England; would not the remaining potentates of Europe that have fleets, to wit, Russia, Sweden, Denmark, &c. take the alarm, and be rouzed by the sollicitations of others to look upon us as meditating an absolute empire over the sea? Should they also join their fleets, we hope Sirs, you are not so blindly national as to think the navy of Great-Britain a match for them all? If you do, we are inclined to think you will not find many to join you in said extravagant opinion.

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These objectors lead us infinitely beyond what we meant at our first setting out. But however for supposition sake let us grant them the question they beg. We believe the present number of our ships of war, is not inferior, nay is equal to the fleets of all the other European powers. We can get men sufficient to man them in the three kingdoms and colonies by proper encouragement, and taking indiscriminately persons of all religions.

From the experience of several years past we are convinced, that the Irish roman catholics, by whom our privateers have been chiefly manned, and many of them officered, fight with as much national appetite against the French and Spaniards, as any other of our subjects. This is an additional nursery of seamen to the amount of many thousands, and in general very brave fellows, as they have proved themselves on most occasions.

What a number of hands, what a useful resource had we been so long deprived of, through a ridiculous prejudice of religion. There is no reasoning against facts.

Therefore

Therefore we think that this new seminary for our navy ought to be cherished, and meet with all sort of encouragement, as it not only gives a new strength to our fleet, but proves also an effectual bar to the Irish brigades in the French service being able to recruit any poor Roman catholics in Ireland.

This hint we think sufficient for those who have the present management of affairs, and therefore humbly submit it to whatever improvement their superior judgments shall think it capable of.

Now supposing our fleet equal in number to all those combined adversaries, we may claim perhaps a superiority in regard to our common men in general for their personal bravery, and more alert manœuvre in all maritime duty.

Things being thus pretty near upon a par, there remains but one inconveniency which we have to ward against; and that is the possibility of the enemies landing forces in some part of our territories, in which they may commit great depredations, considering the fewness of our regular troops:

troops: and that while we are all formidable at sea, we might receive a mortal wound in the heart. That a numerous corps of the enemy once landed, which when determined upon, by watching all opportunities, is practicable, may traverse from one end of the kingdom to the other raising contributions, there being no fortified places to impede them. Our army often being a limited number, can never be sufficient to cover our shores to prevent such landings.

Must we then increase the number of our regular forces? by no means. That would be an unwholesome plenitude. For they would rather be a clog than an addition to our national strength, which consists principally in our insular situation.

It being quite foreign to our views, as it is essentially against our interest, to dream of conquests on the continent, we need not a greater number of troops than what is necessary to support the execution of the civil power and the pomp of state. Our certain defence against an invasion, next to our

our fleet must be a true constitutional militia, which for a long period of time had been opposed under the false suggestion, that most of the constituents of a natural militia, as well officers as private men, would be jacobites; and that consequently the present happy establishment would be in the greatest danger from the revival of such an institution.

The few men, especially in England, who took up arms in the last rebellion, prove how little we have to fear from jacobite principles. No national argument can from them be produced against our having a general militia throughout the kingdom. By which means there will be sufficient numbers (without the people's groaning under the exorbitant charge of a numerous standing army quite useless in time of peace) to repel all attempts to land in small bodies from vessels that may be lucky enough, by several accidents, as the wind changing, &c. to escape the vigilance of our stationed ships. In the mean time commissioned fleets, armed with Britain's resentment, will scour the coasts of whatever

power shall be imprudent enough to offend us ; as they do now that of France, where the scared inhabitants of every port go to bed in tremors, lest their next waking should be to the roar of our cannon.

That we may never be surprized by a designing enemy in consequence of a long peace, it will not be amiss always to keep a certain number of sailors and marines in the king's pay. The former while on shore might at leisure hours be taught the service of landmen. Our marines should be parcelled out in cruisers to convoy ships, or fleets of observation, to be occasionally sent out, or even for mere parade, and there be taught the service of seamen. Thus they both might mutually supply the deficiency of either corps.

By such a method, we should not so often as we had been heretofore be exposed to a want of soldiers upon land-expeditions, or of seamen on board our ships. This is a very easy way of doubling numbers by having men taught to act in a two-fold capacity. And heaven knows if they have not over and above all requisite time necessary

fary to be made proficient in either service. Suppose to encourage them a little additional pay were allowed. It would not be a misapplication of the nation's treasure, and would turn to a much better account than many foreign subsidies.

This likewise is but a hint thrown out to wiser heads to digest and bring to maturity—Thus far as to what regards our exterior strength.—But when we take a retrospect of the core of the body politic, the representatives of the nation about seven years ago, it was almost entirely corrupt; but it is now hoped will never be so foul again.

Because upon every new election, patriot statesmen, who desire to be ministers no longer than the voice of the public shall approve their measures, will scorn to apply the influence of power, or palmistry of bribes, to torture the consciences of the dependent, or the poor, to vote against their own feeling.—Then the loveliest of nymphs, sweet Liberty, released from the manacles of corruption and venality, will lead up anew her jocund dance on the rich plains of Albion, her last favourite residence.

In consequence none but worthy representatives, the genuine choice of the people, will be returned in each succeeding senate, and not the needy dependents of a harpy minister. With such foul toads former parliaments have been too long infested. But it is our happiness to boast, that the present is untainted with such filthy miscreants as those who in the vile days of general iniquity, gave reason to say; that all the posts in the army, navy, courts of justice, as well as church preferments, &c. instead of being conferred on the worthy as the recompence of merit, were prostituted on the parliamentary betrayers of their country, and their next unworthy relations: which was the sole cause of the contemptible figure we have so long made in the eyes of Europe.

Every honest man began to apprehend, that Montesquieu's terrifying prophecy, relative to our constitution was near being fulfilled, *Cette constitution perira lorsque la puissance legislative sera plus corrompue que l'executrice.* "This constitution" (England's) "must fall to ruin whenever the legislative power

“ power shall be more corrupt than the
“ executive.”

The next step to restore the nation to her primitive purity, after the calling of a truly free parliament, will be to take a review of the list of placemen, whose names to read some years ago was a shocking task; it being the infamous catalogue of the most worthless scoundrels in the nation. Honour shrunk back at reading them.

Judge what a general depravity of manners must have prevailed, when stigmatized gamblers, pimps, and informers, solicited to be made justices of the peace, because more lucky rascals than themselves, by the protection of some contemptible great folks, got the places they had fixed their eyes upon.

The public will never complain at seeing such dishonourable names struck off; but on the contrary will look on that minister as their guardian angel, who shall purify the said contaminated places, by giving them to men of integrity and merit.

What a noble encouragement would it be for arts and sciences (and that without putting the nation to a farthing additional
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tax) to give places that require but little attendance to the proficients in each, that they might thereby be enabled to make a farther progress; and being thus sheltered from the arrows of necessity, might take all the time requisite for the finishing of their works.

England may promise to herself such halcyon days, when a minister shall be seen at his very first setting out to call near his person a gentleman distinguished for his abilities, with a consummate taste of the polite arts; of whom it may literally be said,

Qui mores hominum multorum vidit, &
urbes, HOR.

and who has been greatly instrumental to rescue many wonders of antiquity from oblivion and obscurity. Phenix like he has made architecture spring up with new vigour, and soar sublimely from her long neglected ruins.

Let the example of the present greatness of the Prussian monarchy, (not to have any recourse to the antients) prove how much the cultivation of arts and sciences contributes

butes to establish a nation's glory, and the aggrandizement of her power; and what a fertile resource it is in the day of adverse fortune.

When Charles the twelfth of Sweden, the mere soldier, lost the battle of Pultawa, all his laurels faded. When the greater Frederick lost the battle of Colin, short-sighted reasoners called it his battle of Pultawa.

This erroneous conclusion proceeded from their not having considered, that Frederick was not only the warrior but the man of letters; from whose instructive records, endless resources for all human exigencies can be derived by the qualified to search therein.

Why are the Dutch in such a low point of reputation? because the polite arts are not encouraged amongst them. Why has France held up so long her consequence, in contradiction to the general frivolousness of her people, their imbecility of body, and levity of mind? from no other reason than the encouragement she gives by many foundations to all ranks of her people to apply to the polite arts.

Finally,

Finally, what has made England for a number of years degenerate so rapidly from her former glory? the total neglect of ingenious men, (except party-writers) by a succession of worthless ministers, whom their country will always mention with horror.

But things will assume a quite different aspect, and the gloom of national despondency be dissipated, when the sun of patriotism shall rise anew in a disinterested senator. A senator who by no other cabal, faction or party, than unfashionable virtues, and the blaze of superior abilities, shall triumph over all vicious opposition, be invited to the closet, and at last gain the ears of his royal master that had been so long, and so industriously prejudiced against him.

With what agreeable surprize must an aged monarch at the decline of life hear truths relative to the nations welfare, that had never been even hinted to him before! with the greatest satisfaction will he see the young heir of his dominions imbibe his first notions of kingly patriotism from so pure a fountain.

So excellent a Mentor will give his young Telemachus a fair and ingenuous view of the people he is designed by providence to reign over. He will let him know that there is no nation under the sun will go greater lengths for promoting their monarch's glory, when assured that its ultimate end is the kingdom's welfare.

A prince thus instructed will adopt for the guide of his councils that minister who shall employ no other craft but public virtue; keep himself in place; nor chuse to cooperate with any but a freely elected, and uninfluenced parliament: who will not let the standing army be augmented beyond the barely required numbers: but will take care to have a constitutional militia established, the fleet manned as above hinted, and always in readiness to act.

An island thus administered (being unattackable at home) may spread the terror of her name to any, nay the remotest parts of the world, that thro' wantonness or base proceedings shall provoke her indignation. On such occasions she ought always to strike home to revenge the insults offered to

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her; and in consequence prevent the offenders daring to repeat them.

To the inhabitants of such an island may be justly applied the two lines with which Virgil complimented the Romans;

*Hinc populum latè regem, belloque superbum
Imperium oceano, famam qui terminet astris*

From them will spring a people that successful in war shall give laws to other nations. Their empire shall know no limit but that of the sea; and with their fame the world shall resound,

F I N I S.

